

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

VOLUME X, NUMBER 22

WASHINGTON, D. C.

FEBRUARY 17, 1941

U. S. Studies Latin American Relations

European War Forcing American Republics to Find Means of Collaboration

ECONOMIC PLANS EXAMINED

Program to Diversify Agricultural Production, Stimulate Industry Enjoys Most Favor

In the face of the great crisis which has gripped Europe, Africa, and Asia, a great deal of earnest thought—perhaps more than ever before—is now being given to the relations between the United States and the other 20 republics of this hemisphere. Having lost their markets in Europe, these countries are going through a period of economic stress. In some cases, where the stress is worse than in others, political upheavals sponsored by powers unfriendly to the United States are possible. All Latin America is seeking a solution to this difficult situation. In Washington and in other capitals it is felt that some form of decisive inter-American collaboration is necessary if the republics of Latin America are to ride out the storm.

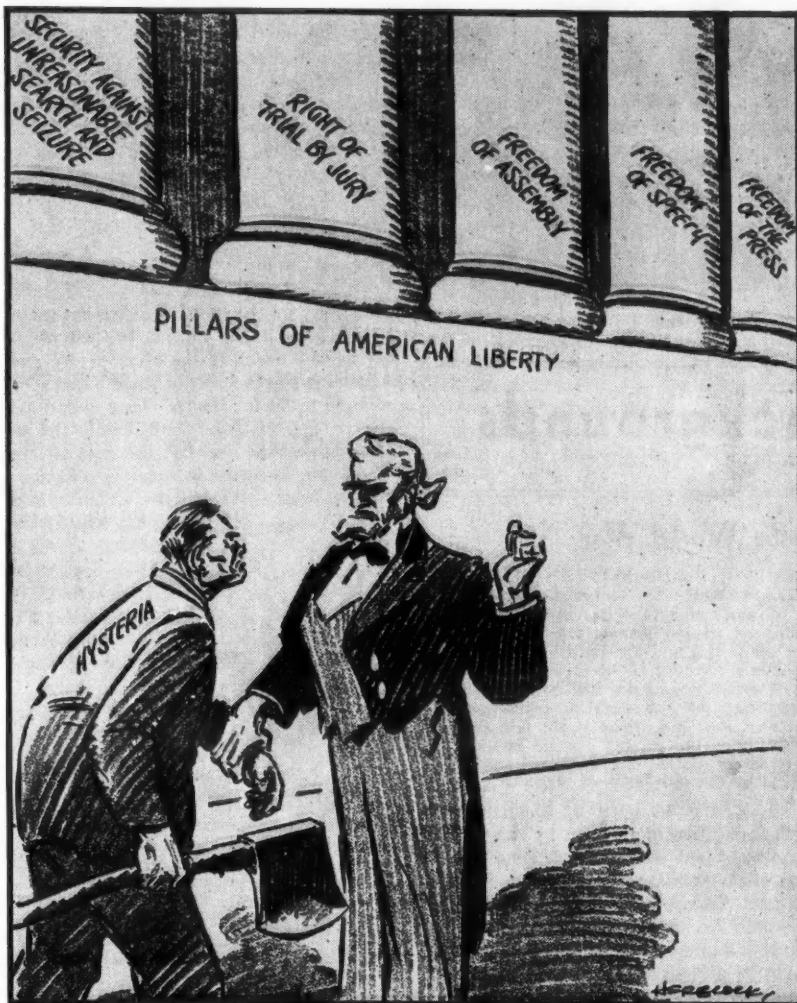
Reasons for Collaboration

A stronger policy of collaboration with Latin America would not be a matter of altruism or charity on the part of the United States. This country has very definite reasons for desiring closer relations with its neighbors. We wish to maintain economic and political stability on the continent in order to prevent hostile powers from taking advantage of internal chaos—if only for that reason alone. But we also wish frankly to strengthen our influence in the hemisphere for the purpose of creating new markets for American industry, to replace existing war markets in Europe and Asia, and to build up a big reserve area capable of supplying materials needed in the defense of the Americas.

But it is easier to speak of collaboration than to achieve it. There are many obstacles in its path. One of them is the wide cultural and social gap between people in the United States and in the southern republics. There are 120,000,000 people in Latin America, nearly as many as in the United States, and they are not all alike. In a representative group of 100, for example, one will be an Asiatic, 15 will be Negro or part Negro, 13 will be pure Indian, 21 will be white, and half will be *mestizos*—a mixture of Indian and white. This being the case, general statements about what Latin Americans think or feel are likely to be misleading.

Except in Mexico, where the Indian now has a say, and in Haiti, where Negroes predominate, Latin America is dominated by Spanish and Portuguese-speaking whites and by the *mestizos* who follow their lead. It is with this class that we usually have to deal. It is conservative and distrustful of democracy, and strong for the old hacienda or plantation system. Whether in business or in politics the average Latin American white does not like to be hurried. He sets great store by dignity and formality, and does not easily forget slights or indignities. He has always looked to Spain, Italy, France, and even England for education and reading matter, and knows very little about the United States. *Yanqui* is a word he uses with derision, applying it to what he thinks is a noisy, bustling people, eager for profits, grasping, and up to no good. Curiously enough, the re-

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"THESE ARE NOT FIFTH COLUMNS!"

HERBLOCK IN BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT

The Time to Start Thinking

By CARL E. HOLMES

Never before has there been such a need for men and women with the courage and ability to think for themselves. Never before has there been let loose so much misleading but effective propaganda. Behind this flood of propaganda are those who in a subtle way try to tell us what to believe and what to think, but rarely do they ever want us to think for ourselves. Propaganda usually attempts to benefit some individual, group, or nation, at the expense of the rest of us.

Anyone can think things through if he really wants to think straight, but we all need some method to help us. How many know how to think? What is thinking? Many of us believe we are thinking when we are merely repeating the thoughts of others. Thinking is simply turning things over in our own minds and concentrating on a matter long enough to arrive at our own conclusions.

Thinking is the hardest kind of labor. Hence it is avoided as we avoid unpleasant things. And yet, creative thinking when practiced with any degree of success, increases our confidence in ourselves, and brings with it a sense of accomplishment which is a truly satisfying experience. Postponed thinking and inertia cause most of our troubles. Thinking is necessary to appreciate our advantages, our obligations, and opportunities, and from time immemorial, it has been recognized as the only solution to our difficulties.

Let us imagine that your mind is a court where all things must be proved to your satisfaction. In a court both sides are heard and the law pertaining to similar situations is explained. In following this method, we must necessarily free ourselves from all matters of self-interest, prejudice, and so on. If we use our mind as a court we seek not only all the facts but the fundamentals as well, and when we reach a conclusion, it is our own, and as such it is important.

Now it is one thing to arrive at a conclusion and another thing to hold on to it. A notebook is a handy thing for anyone to have around and it is strange how important our thoughts become when we take the trouble to jot them down. The best way to retain our thoughts is to fasten them in words and chain them in writing. Thoughts adequately but briefly expressed also help us to be more accurate in our thinking.

The final step which many have found to be the key to constructive thinking is the classification of our thoughts by subjects. As we systematically file away our best thoughts our minds become clarified, new ideas are corralled, and the process of adaptation opens up limitless avenues of new thought. Cards or envelopes may be used for the purpose of classification.

The greatest undeveloped wealth in the United States is in the mental resources of the average man and woman who has never been taught how, or even encouraged to think straight on the simplest problems of life. God gave us minds to use. Do we dare to use them? If so the time to start thinking is now.

Civil Liberties Are Vital to Democracy

Threat to Basic Freedoms Seen in Events Abroad and National Emergency

STEADY VIGILANCE NEEDED

Greatest Danger Lies in Failure of People to Safeguard Constitutional Rights

In the state of New York the week beginning February 17 has been set apart as "Bill of Rights Week," and during that week students in the schools study the rights which Americans enjoy, how these rights were obtained and how they may be preserved. Such studies are being made all over the United States, whether a special week is being set aside for them or not. There is a widespread interest in our civil liberties. We are more concerned about them now that we see many nations losing them.

Heretofore we have taken freedom for granted. We have thought of it as we do the air we breathe. But now the tides are turning against liberty in many lands. We see that we have something exceptional; that liberty may be in danger even here. Hence, in the schools and elsewhere people are thinking of American freedom as something very precious; as something we must appreciate and protect.

Freedom Lost Elsewhere

Freedom of religion, press, speech, assembly, and the right to a fair trial; a guarantee against imprisonment without a trial; these rights seem to most of us so commonplace as scarcely to call for comment. But what if we were to be deprived of them? What if we were obliged to live as the people do in Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, and nations which have recently been conquered? In these lands one may not object to what the government is doing, however wrong he may think it is. He may not criticize public officials. He is not allowed to speak his mind on any controversial subject unless he agrees with those in power. Editors have to ask officers what they may print. Even in the churches people must be careful to obey rules of the state about the expression of belief and opinion. One may be thrown into prison or into a concentration camp without so much as hearing a complaint against him.

Such are the conditions in most of the world today. Yet if Americans lost their freedom and were obliged to live as people do who have lost theirs, life would seem scarcely worth living to us. Practically all Americans would risk their lives in order to win back the lost liberties.

As a matter of fact, we have these liberties today only because in earlier times men have been willing to work and fight and die for them. They have not all been won at once, but freedom has come, a little here and a little there, through the centuries. We have become more free because men and women have continued to love liberty and have been on guard year by year throughout our history. They have worked untiringly for an increasing measure of liberty and democracy.

Our civil liberties, our fundamental rights as Americans, are guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States and by the constitutions of the various states. These rights are defined in the first 10 amendments to the Constitution called the "Bill of Rights," which were adopted shortly after the Constitution was put into effect. They have been enlarged by certain later

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FINGERPRINTING DURING THE WORLD WAR

INT'L NEWS

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

Civil Liberties During the World War

THE fear which many people express for our civil liberties during the present emergency stems largely from the experience of this country during the World War. At that time, the United States abandoned itself to widespread hysteria and resorted to the suppression of civil liberties on a large scale. The federal government enacted rigid measures and prosecuted hundreds of persons under them. About half of the states placed similarly repressive laws on their statute books. Perhaps more serious still were the violations of civil liberties which were extra-legal in nature; that is, those resorted to by groups or mobs who took the law into their own hands by virtue of what they regarded as their patriotic duty.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

The federal government enacted two laws which directly affected civil liberties during the war period. The first was the Espionage Act of 1917, which fixed a fine of \$10,000 and 20 years' imprisonment upon anyone who interfered with the draft or sought to encourage disloyalty. The Sedition Act, passed the following year, carried the restrictions even further by extending the punishment to anyone who should obstruct the sale of government bonds, encourage insubordination, discourage recruiting, or "willfully utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution . . . or the flag . . . or the uniform of the Army or Navy . . . or bring the form of government . . . or the Constitution . . . into contempt . . . or advocate any curtailment of production in this country of any thing necessary or essential to the prosecution of the war."

Many Prosecutions

Some 1,500 persons were prosecuted by the federal government under the terms of these acts. According to the attorney general of that period, "in practically every case under this act the question of free speech or of political or religious liberty was involved." As to how the courts interpreted these laws, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard law professor, writing shortly after the war, made the following comment:

The courts have made it impossible for an opponent of the war to write an article or even a letter in a newspaper of general circulation, because it will be read in some training camp where it might cause insubordination or interfere with military success. He cannot address a large audience because it is liable to include a few men in uniform; and some judges have held him punishable if it contains men between 18 and 45; while Judge Van

Valkenburgh, in *United States vs. Rose Pastor Stokes* [Rose Pastor Stokes was sentenced to a 10-year prison term for saying in a letter published in the *Kansas City Star*: "I am for the people and the government is for the profiteers"] would not even require that, because what is said to mothers, sisters, and sweethearts may lessen their enthusiasm for the war, and "our armies in the field and our navies upon the sea can operate and succeed only so far as they are supported and maintained by the folks at home."

Mr. Chafee summed up the effect of such application of the laws by saying that it "always puts an end to genuine discussion of public matters." The United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Espionage Act by declaring that "when a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."

Many prominent citizens who opposed the war or who criticized certain policies of the government were prosecuted and sent to prison under the Espionage and Sedition Acts. Newspapers and magazines which took issue with policies of the government were barred from the mails.

Mob Violence

Civil liberties suffered during the World War not alone by reason of legal proceedings which now appear in many cases to have been unnecessarily severe. In numerous instances civil liberties were directly suppressed by mob violence or impaired by actions provoked by an excess of patriotic zeal. Patriotism sometimes served as a cloak for acts of violence against unpopular labor elements. Charges of disloyalty were injected into political campaigns. Even citizens prominent in the public eye used surprisingly intemperate language in denouncing individuals or actions deemed by them unpatriotic. In such an atmosphere, a considerable measure of indirect restraint was added to the direct curbs placed on freedom of expression.

German-Americans, in particular, were subjected to all sorts of indignities. Fritz Kreisler was refused permission to give a concert in a certain town. Peace meetings were broken up by mobs. There were even a few isolated cases of lynchings for what private citizens considered disloyalty. All sorts of organizations were formed to put down seditious action throughout the country. So extensive had mob violence become throughout the country that the President was obliged to issue a warning to the nation:

We proudly claim to be the champions of democracy. . . . I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives it any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer. . . . How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples if we disgrace our own by proving that it is, after all, no protection to the weak?

The Citizen and National Heroes

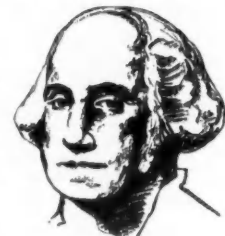
WE are all inspired to act more worthily by the contemplation of noble deeds and great ideals. We are kept on the paths of duty and good citizenship through the respect and devotion which we feel for the national heroes; for the men and women who have risen to lofty heights of action, of thought, and of character. We become better citizens when we study the lives of those who have helped make America and who have written their names in large letters in the national history.

The men whom we call our national heroes were, indeed, human. They had their faults and weaknesses; and once in a while there is a historian who takes delight in picking out these flaws in the characters of our great men and in holding these weaknesses to view. There are people who think it is smart and clever to "debunk" the heroes and dwell upon their shortcomings.

This is a very foolish thing to do. There is no human being who is free from error and there never has been. But there have been men and women who have performed great services for the country, who have, on the whole, embodied in their lives the finest of our ideals; and every person in the land will be a better citizen, a better American, if he studies the lives of these popular heroes and seeks to make his own the qualities which made them great and which endeared them to their country.

We need not follow slavishly every word uttered by these great men of the past. Counsel given by Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, or Lincoln to their people of their day may not be well suited to the needs of our own far different day, but we should try to catch something of the spirit of these outstanding leaders and we should try to do for our time what they did for theirs. They undertook to find the way to better things, to make the country greater than it had been in the past. We, like they, should study the conditions of our own time and find the road to progress.

We are fortunate in America in having produced many men whose lives are a continuing inspiration—Washington, a man of noble character and unswerving patriotism; Franklin, whose common sense counsel has helped many to solve the problems of their private lives; Jefferson, whose life and whose words breathe a love of liberty; Lincoln, the great humanitarian. As we approach the birthday of the man who has come to be called the Father of His Country, we may well give thought to the following appraisal by the historian, James Truslow Adams, of Washington's place in history:



GEORGE WASHINGTON

In the travail of war and revolution, America had brought forth a man to be ranked with the greatest and noblest of any age in all the world. There have been greater generals in the field and statesmen in the cabinet in our own and other nations. There has been no greater character. When we think of Washington, it is not as a military leader, nor as executive or diplomat. We think of the man who by sheer force of character held a divided and disorganized country together until victory was achieved, and who, after peace was won, still held his disunited countrymen by their love and respect and admiration for himself until a nation was welded into enduring strength and unity.

There were great patriots in America whose names are inscribed in the story of that time. There were many humble folk whose names have faded from our histories or were never known outside their narrow village circle, who struggled and suffered from the noblest motives. But war brings out the worst as well as the best in men. It is a mistake to think of the America of 1776-1783 as a nation of patriots pressing their services to gain their freedom. It was hard to get men into the army, and to keep them there. Often Washington had neither money nor food nor clothing to offer them. . . . But he always had an army, pitifully small as it was at times, which held the flag flying in the field through love of him and confidence in the character which they sensed in his dignified presence. Without him the cause would have been irretrievably lost, and the thunder of the orators would have rumbled long since into forgetful silence. When the days were blackest, men clung to his unfaltering courage as to the last firm ground in a rising flood. When, later, the forces of disunion in the new country seemed to threaten disruption, men again rallied to him as the sole bond of union. Legacy to America from these troubled years, he is, apart from independence itself, the noblest heritage of all.

Test Yourself

The purpose of this test is to determine your attitude toward men and women who have made noteworthy contributions in American life and who are popularly regarded as the "national heroes." By asking yourself these questions you can get an idea of how much you know about great Americans, the extent to which you have studied their lives, and the degree to which you have been helped or inspired by their examples. Your answers may lead you to feel that you should give more time to biographical reading. When you have finished, put your paper aside. Then in a few weeks get the list of questions out and take the test again. See if you have made any progress along the line of reading and thinking which you may have taken.

1. What character in American history do you most admire?
2. Is your admiration for this character merely a matter of vague emotion, or do you have definite information about his life and his contributions?
3. With how many famous Americans are you sufficiently familiar so that you can make a list of their qualities or characteristics?
4. Have you read the life of any American during the last year?
5. Do you find biography interesting?
6. When you read the life of a great man or woman do you inquire of yourself whether you might profit by adopting certain of his characteristics or habits?
7. If you discover that a noted man whom you have admired had certain unworthy qualities, do you lose confidence in him completely so that you cannot respect the good qualities?
8. If you find that a great man of the past advised a certain governmental policy, do you feel that his advice should necessarily be followed today?
9. What men or women of the present, if any, may come in time to be regarded by the nation as great American heroes?
10. Are you more critical of the outstanding leaders of our own time than of the leaders of earlier periods of our history? If so, why?
11. In your opinion, may a man properly be called great because (a) he was powerful intellectually; (b) he was very famous and popular in his own time; (c) he influenced the course of history; (d) he left the country stronger or happier because of his life and work; (e) he possessed to a superlative degree qualities of character, mind, or personality which it would be well for any person to acquire?

What other measure of greatness do you use in ranking historical characters?

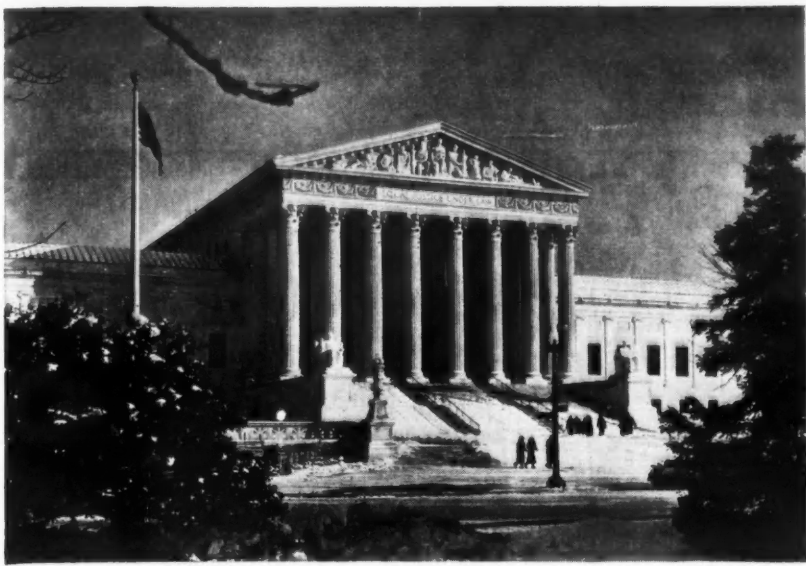


ABRAHAM LINCOLN



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

THOMAS JEFFERSON
(ILLUSTRATIONS FROM "MINUTE BIOGRAPHIES," BY NICHOLSON AND PARKER, GROSSET AND DUNLAP.)



THE SUPREME COURT—GUARDIAN OF LIBERTY

Preservation of Civil Liberties Is Vital to Democratic Government

(Continued from page 1)

amendments, particularly by the Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in 1868.

The First Amendment declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

What Our Rights Are

This amendment prevents the national government from interfering with the individual's freedom of speech, press, assembly, or religion. But it does not prevent the states from doing so if they should see fit. As a matter of fact, nearly all the states have provisions in their constitutions guaranteeing the rights of the individual. But previous to the enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment a state could have repealed such provisions and could have passed laws interfering with individual rights if it had seen fit to do so. The Fourteenth Amendment declares that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. . . ." This has been interpreted to mean that no state shall deprive any of its citizens of such rights as those of free speech, free press, etc.—rights with which the national government is commanded not to interfere. Since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, it becomes the duty of the federal courts to declare unconstitutional any act, whether by Congress or a state legislature, which interferes with the individual's freedom of speech or press or assembly or worship. Not only is the state government forbidden to interfere with such rights, but no subdivision of the state; that is, no county or city, can do so.

Limits to Freedom

We are not to understand, however, that the rights ordinarily called civil liberties are absolute. We enjoy them within limits even in the United States. Here is an example of restriction: One of the most basic rights of an American citizen is to go about his way as he sees fit so long as he harms no one, engaging in whatever occupation he chooses without interference by the government. During a war or a period of very great danger, however, one may be required to give up some of this freedom. If one is engaged in an occupation which, though harmless enough, is not necessary to the national defense, he may be obliged to give up his work during wartime and engage in an occupation necessary for public defense. The government may declare that he may not be allowed to purchase the raw materials needed to carry on his business; that all these materials are to go to defense industries. Not only that, but there are restrictions on one's freedom of speech during wartime. One may not speak or write in such a way as to give aid

to the enemy. Newspapers are forbidden to print news which the government thinks would be harmful to the nation.

Other ways in which liberty is limited in time of war are described in the section of this paper entitled "Historical Backgrounds." Some of these limitations on freedom are necessary. Others probably are not. During a time of war or danger or excitement, it frequently happens that liberty is restricted in unnecessary ways. Such a period is always dangerous to our essential freedoms. That is why those who love liberty must be more closely on guard during a period of war or anxiety. They must be willing temporarily to surrender to the government rights which cannot safely be exercised in a time of danger, but they must stand against the development of a spirit of hysteria which renders all liberty insecure.

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• Vocational Outlook •

Social Work

ALTHOUGH one may expect to earn a reasonable living in the profession of social work, the greatest rewards must come from the satisfaction of helping others and of performing a useful service for society.

Social workers are employed by the relief agencies of the federal government, by counties and cities, by community chest organizations, by state welfare boards and institutions, or by private organizations which carry on relief and health work. They are also employed by courts to deal with juvenile delinquency and with broken families, and by hospitals and schools.

When a family needs help from a social agency, the *family case worker* makes a visit to find out all about the family's past history in order to discover the source of the difficulties. Such a case worker is often called upon to help the head of a family to find a job, to work out a family budget, to arrange for a supply of food and clothing, and to provide some medical care.

The *child welfare worker* seeks to help neglected or handicapped children. Sometimes she must try to arrange for taking a child away from its own home and placing it in a home where it will get proper care. She must provide for orphans who have come to the notice of her agency. She has to help young people who have fallen into trouble with the police.

The *medical social worker* arranges for needy patients to be cared for by hospital clinics or by individual doctors, and she makes a study of each patient's background to see whether his illness is not related to other difficulties at home. The highly specialized duties of the *psychiatric social worker* consist of helping poor people who are suffering from mental illnesses.

Since 1930, when there were about 35,000 social workers in the United States, the number of those engaged in the profession has more than doubled, due to the depression-created need. About 90 per cent of the social workers are women, but men are to be found in nearly all categories of the profession.

The Week at a Glance . . .

Tuesday, February 4

Wendell Willkie conferred with Eamon de Valera, prime minister of Eire. British forces advanced from Sudan into Ethiopia, where they are joining with revolting natives in the fight against Italian troops.

Wednesday, February 5

Chief of State Pétain told his cabinet of terms on which Pierre Laval demanded to be reinstated in the French government. President Roosevelt's representative, Laughlin Currie, arrived in China to survey need for American aid and to give Chinese leaders financial advice.

Thursday, February 6

Senate received nomination of John G. Winant as United States ambassador to Great Britain. British troops were making gains in Libya at the rate of 30 miles a day. Italy was forced to quit using the vital Albanian port of Valona because of damage done by Greek bombings.

Friday, February 7

President Roosevelt signed bill appropriating \$313,500,000 for construction of 200 new cargo ships. British captured Benghazi, important air and naval base and last Italian stronghold in eastern Libya. The President disclosed plans for public works projects which would be used to take up employment slack after the war is over. Fourteen railway labor organizations, representing 750,000 workers, announced plans to take a strike vote on the issue of vacations with pay.

Saturday, February 8

After 13 months in Little America, the Byrd Antarctic Expedition was on its way back to the United States. Italians who managed to escape from Benghazi fled westward to Tripoli. House passed lend-lease bill, 260-165. Pierre Laval refused terms of Pétain's offer to rejoin French government.

Sunday, February 9

British warships bombarded the important Italian city and seaport, Genoa. Wendell Willkie returned from his tour of Britain, and prepared to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on lend-lease bill. Admiral Jean Darlan became vice-premier of French cabinet, taking post left by Laval. Prime Minister Churchill addressed the British Empire and the world on the progress of the war.

Monday, February 10

Britain broke off diplomatic relations with Rumania because the Rumanian government was permitting German troops to use the country as a military base. The House of Representatives voted to increase the legal limit of the national debt from \$49,000,000,000 to \$65,000,000,000. General Franco, dictator of Spain, was leaving in company with Foreign Minister Suñer on a trip to Italy, where it was believed they would confer with Mussolini about the war. Marshal Pétain confirmed that he favors Admiral Darlan to be his successor as premier of France.

♦ SMILES ♦



"—and don't forget, gentlemen, if it weren't for my client you'd all be home shoveling snow off your sidewalks!"

A man wearing a bathing suit in the Sahara Desert was accosted by a traveler who asked, "What are you wearing that for? There's no water around here." "I know," came the reply, "but it's a mighty fine beach." —WALL STREET JOURNAL

Salesman: "I'd like to see someone around here with a little authority." Office Boy: "Well, I have about as little as anyone. What can I do for you?" —CAPPER'S WEEKLY

"Was that your new girl I saw you with last night?" "No—just the old one painted over." —PATHFINDER

"Your new overcoat is pretty loud, isn't it?" "Yeah, but I'm gonna buy a muffler to go with it." —CAPPER'S WEEKLY

"I don't like to say it, dear, but Fred doesn't seem to be as well dressed as when you married him three years ago." "That's strange. I'm positive it's the same suit." —SELECTED

Coed: "What position does your brother play on the football team?" Sister: "A sort of crouched, bent position." —THE RECORDER

PRONUNCIATIONS: Apennines (ap'eh-ninz—i as in ice), Fulgencio Batista (fool'-hen'-syoeh bah-tees'tah), Benghazi (ben-gah'-zee), Chiang Kai-shek (jee'ong' ki'-shek'—i as in ice), Chungking (choong'king'), Cirenaiqa (sir-eh-nay'kah), Genoa (jen'-oe-ah), Ligurian (li-gu'-ri-an), Magallanes (mah-gahl-yah'nays), Mekong (may-kong'), Punta Arenas (poon'tah ah-ray'nahs), Reykjavik (ray'kyah-veek'), Salonika (sah-loe-nee'kah), Santiago (san-tee-ah'goe), Sao Paulo (soun' pou'loo—ou as in out), Tierra del Fuego (tee-air'rah del' fway'-goe), Valparaíso (val-pah-rah-ee'-soe), Weygand (vay'gahn').

The Week at Home

"Lend-Lease" Progress

When the House of Representatives passed the lend-lease bill by a vote of 260 to 165, the measure contained the following provisions:

1. Until June 30, 1943, the President may purchase or order the manufacture of defense articles for any country the defense of which he "deems vital to the defense of the United States." No contracts may extend beyond July 1, 1946.

2. After he has consulted with the heads of the Army and the Navy, the President may transfer defense articles and information on any terms he considers advisable. He may not transfer more than \$1,300,000,000 worth of equipment for which appropriations have already been made.

3. The President may order the reconditioning of any defense articles belonging to the countries referred to above. British warships, for example, may be repaired and refitted in American ports.



TWO CHICAGO COLONELS DISAGREE
SEIBEL IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

4. The bill gives the President no power to send American ships into combat areas or to order the conveying of ships by naval vessels. It does not, however, take from him any power he already possesses.

5. At least once every 90 days, the President is to send Congress a report which will omit only "such information as he deems incompatible with the public interest to disclose."

6. By means of a resolution passed by a majority vote in both houses, Congress may withdraw any power granted the President.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee completed its hearings early last week. Among the final witnesses was Wendell L. Willkie, just returned from two weeks in the British Isles and heartily in favor of aid to Britain as a means of keeping this country out of war.

The New Army

The goal of the Army is still 1,418,000 officers and men by June 15. About 100,000 of them are to be sent to outlying posts in the Atlantic, the Caribbean, and the Pacific. The rest will be

distributed among the 147 Army posts in the United States. Though much larger than any army we have ever assembled in time of peace, this force will be small compared to the great armies of Europe and Asia. Germany probably has 4,000,000 men mobilized. Britain may have a like number. Japan and Russia are thought to have 2,000,000 each.

Our situation is so different from that of Germany, Britain, Japan, or Russia that most Americans will not worry unduly because our Army is to number only a million and a half this summer. They are more likely to be concerned because of the slow progress we are making toward that figure. Today we have only 643,500 in the active forces, and we are far behind schedule with the drafted men. The official estimate last autumn called for the induction of 240,000 of them by this time, but so far only 42,500 have been put into uniform.

Accidents, 1940

At a time when the horrors of war are being constantly paraded before our eyes, the National Safety Council is determined that we shall not forget the horrors of accidents. The 1940 accident figures it has published show that in the United States last year 96,000 people were killed and 9,100,000 were injured. It is interesting to compare these figures for a 12-month period with the casualties our country sustained in battle during the 19 months it was in the World War. In over a year and a half, 60,495 men were killed in action or lost at sea, while 190,388 were wounded. Accidents kill and injure many more Americans than battle, and no armistice ever brings a truce on this home front.

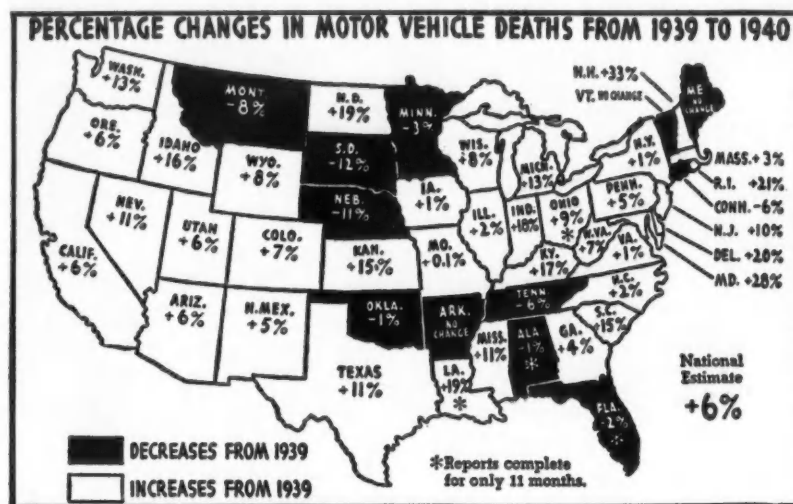
Last year the fatalities increased by nearly 4,000 over the previous year, and accidents became the fifth most important cause of death in this country. One out of every 15 persons received a disabling injury. There was an increase of 300,000 in the number of those hurt.

More than one-third of all the accidental deaths were due to motor vehicle mishaps. Accidents in the home ran a close second. The third most important group of fatalities consisted of accidents which occurred at work. These industrial deaths were about half as numerous as those caused by motor accidents.

Objectors

President Roosevelt has issued an executive order authorizing Selective Service Director Clarence A. Dykstra to provide nonmilitary work for those drafted men whose consciences will not permit them to serve in the military forces.

Conscientious objectors who are opposed only to fighting are put into such non-combatant branches as the Medical Corps, but already thousands of draftees have



The Week Abroad

Mediterranean Sweep

Today, as in the days when young Columbus picked his way through drying nets, ships' tackle, and piles of merchandise along its quays, Genoa is a great port. Crowded in between the Apennines and the Ligurian Sea, its old houses huddle together between narrow twisting streets, rising and falling irregularly over steep hillsides, giving way finally to the old palaces of Genoa's bankers, sea captains, and merchant princes. In modern times Genoa has served as the outlet for Italy's industrial north, exporting rice, wine, olive oil, silk, and other textile manufactures, paper, leather goods, and scores of other products. Genoa, with its fine deep harbor, its floating docks, electric cranes, and a variety of expensive marine repair equipment, has been the center of Italy's ship-building industry, and the terminus of her transatlantic sea routes.

Just as dawn was breaking over the old city, last Sunday morning, a British fleet swept in from the south pouring 300 tons of shells into its docks, repair shops, shipyards, and oil storage tanks. The British objective, it was stated, was to prevent a German-Italian expeditionary force from embarking at Genoa for North Africa. But whether the shelling has its desired effects or not, the blow was a hard one for Italy, proving the ineffectiveness of Mussolini's navy and air force in guarding Italy's own coast, and coming on top of further humiliations in Albania, East Africa, and (worst of all) in Libya.

The fall of Benghazi, which preceded this bombardment by a few days, has left the British in possession of a total of more than 100,000 Italian prisoners including 18 generals, and all of Cirenaica, as eastern Libya is called. It has also raised a question as to the next move. Will the British push on or stop to consolidate their gains? Between Benghazi and Tripoli, where the remaining Italian forces are now concentrated, lie 652 miles of desert, described by one writer as "an abomination of desolation." To try to push across would be dangerous. If it could be done, however, and Tripoli captured, Italy would be eliminated from North Africa and direct contact established with General Weygand and the French colonies.

The Burma Road

China's troubles continue to pile up. On top of the still unsettled and potentially disastrous dispute between General Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communist armies that had been supporting him in resistance to Japan, comes the news that traffic has been sharply curtailed over the Burma Road. This main artery, built by countless coolies at great effort, enabled General Chiang to obtain war supplies from the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. But persistent Japanese bombing attacks on the highway have finally

brought results. The chief suspension bridge over the Mekong River, as well as smaller bridges—all vital links in the route—have been reduced to wreckage by Japanese bombs, compelling the Chinese to resort to ferries. The ferries, unfortunately, are not sufficiently large to carry the trucks that had been moving back and forth in a steady stream from the Burma border to the Chinese capital of Chungking. Thus, at every river formerly spanned by a bridge, truck cargoes must be unloaded, placed on the ferries, and then reloaded again on the other side.

It is a slow and arduous process that seriously hampers General Chiang's forces. Reports from Chungking suggest that Chiang may be compelled to build a new highway, removed further inland from the



THE END OF THE LION HUNT
TALBUT IN WASHINGTON NEWS

range of Japanese planes and connecting with the Indian port of Calcutta. But pending the building of this new route, it is going to be a difficult task trying to get supplies from abroad.

Bulgaria at Bay

The occupation of Bulgaria by Nazi troops may be one of the first results of the sweeping British victories in North Africa. With Italian forces rapidly falling back toward Tripoli, their last important defense base in Libya, Chancellor Hitler is said to fear that Britain may soon have a substantial army free for duty in Greece. And in order to prevent the British from striking a crippling blow at the Fascist armies in Albania, the German dictator is reported as preparing for a drive into Bulgaria.

Occupation of this Balkan state would place him close by the Greek port of Salonika, where a large British expeditionary force would be expected to debark. It might not even be necessary for Germany to battle the Greeks. The presence of a formidable army near the border might be

sufficient to induce Athens to patch up some sort of peace with Italy, the more so if Hitler assures the Greeks terms that would recognize the victories achieved by the Greek armies over the Fascist forces.

The threat of a German advance into Bulgaria seems more real this time than the alarms that were raised earlier in the winter. From many quarters there are reports that thousands of German troops are already filtering into Bulgaria in the guise of tourists. This is a technique of conquest often employed by Hitler just before an actual invasion. Primary interest now centers on the question of whether Turkey will fight the expected Nazi invasion, as she has repeatedly warned, or will content herself with occupying a small part of Bulgaria near her border, merely for defensive purposes.

War in Iceland

One hour's flying time from Greenland, seven hours northwest from England, lies the large block of rolling wind-blown land called Iceland. It is no longer news that the name is misleading. There are great glaciers in the north and icy lava deserts, it is true, and the whole island is subject to a very cold wind that may strike down out of the north at any time without warning, but the average temperature in the cold months is no worse than that of New York or Philadelphia.

Until last year Iceland was one place that almost never broke into the news. Its 120,000 people spread nets in the nearby seas, planted turnips and potatoes along bare hillsides between birch thickets much as had their Norse ancestors who fled Norway in the ninth century. Iceland was ruled in theory by the king of Denmark, but in fact by its local parliament. Political writers had glowing things to say of its democracy, its excellent judicial system, and the simple honest life of its people, but not many people wanted to go there. There was too much monotony all around.

Since Denmark fell to Germany, last spring, there have been many changes in Iceland. The island has declared itself independent, until the situation clarifies, but is under the temporary protection of the British, who have landed 80,000 troops there. Heavy guns have been mounted in the hills. Tanks and gun caissons rumble occasionally through the peaceful streets of Reykjavik, the capital. The British are anxious to protect the island for two reasons. First, it lies close to the main North Atlantic shipping lanes, and from it German planes and submarines could operate with telling effect. Second, it is now serving as an assembly point for some American aircraft which are taken to Iceland by ship, put together, and then flown to England. In German hands, it might also serve as an invasion base. Hence the powerful forces stationed there.

Odd Revolt

There was considerable excitement in the little island republic of Cuba, recently, when word got around Havana that the presidential palace was being barricaded and a revolt was imminent. Havana citizens went to see for themselves and found it to be so. Roads leading to the palace were blocked off. There were sandbags and trucks loaded with troops and rifles to keep away inquisitive Cubans. No one could understand at first from what direction the revolt was coming. Every shade of opinion in Cuba, including communists, fascists, and capitalists, had supported the election of Fulgencio Batista, the former army sergeant who occupied the palace. Some thought the revolt might be coming from the Falange, the Cuban branch of the Spanish fascist party which had been outlawed by Batista a few days earlier.

Just a little before midnight the announcement was made that a dastardly plot to assassinate the president of Cuba had been uncovered and that the guilty ones were the three heads of Cuba's police,



GHETTO IN WARSAW

As during the Middle Ages, the Jews in Warsaw under Nazi domination are placed in a ghetto which is separated from the rest of the city by a high wall. They are not permitted to leave the ghetto. The wall even crosses street car tracks. This photo, reported to have been smuggled out of Poland to Switzerland, was passed by the British and Swiss censors.

army, and diminutive navy. There was no shooting. The three were allowed to take their families and possessions and depart comfortably for the United States by plane.

On the heels of this curious revolt have come speculations concerning its real nature. Some observers believe that a number of the military supporters of Batista had become resentful, during the last year, when he began to turn to civilian advisers and to rule in a more constitutional manner than had been his habit before becoming president, and that consequently he felt it necessary to get rid of them as painlessly as possible.

Cabinet Admiral

The beginning of last week found France still gripped by the political crisis which began in earnest when Pierre Laval, the ousted vice-premier and foreign minister, demanded that he be made premier of France with the power to appoint his own cabinet. Knowing that the German government was openly backing Laval, old Marshal Pétain hesitated to flout these demands openly, but he seems to have held his ground so far. Instead of yielding, he made a move designed to checkmate Laval while at the same time appeasing the growing anger of the Germans; he appointed Admiral Jean Darlan as vice-premier and foreign minister in his cabinet.

Admiral Darlan, a well-tanned, energetic officer of 59 years, was born into a Gascon naval family which had been somewhat anti-British ever since the French fleets were destroyed at the Battle of Trafalgar. Darlan was brought up in this tradition as he passed through the naval academy into the fleet. It was a tradition nurtured by the secondary role which France has always had to play to Britain on the high seas. During the World War Darlan commanded naval guns mounted on land most of the time. After service in colonial ports he became chief of the naval staff in 1936, and finally commander of all French naval forces, just two years ago. Until the British attacked and destroyed French naval units at Oran to prevent their falling into German hands, Darlan had cooperated cordially with his British associates, but since that battle his old antipathy has shown itself again.

It is for this reason that the Germans feel generally cordial toward Darlan. But they respect him also simply as a good officer, just as the people of France seem to respect him for his patriotism and for his loyalty to Marshal Pétain in a time of great stress. Whether his appointment to the two posts formerly held by Laval will succeed in smoothing things over and putting an end to the political struggle for long is doubtful.



ERITREAN HIGHLANDS

It is through such mountains as these that the British are driving forward in a campaign to take Eritrea, in Italian East Africa, from Italy.

Civil Liberties Are Vital to Democracy

(Concluded from page 3)

There are limitations to our rights even in times of peace. For example, the right of free speech does not give a person the privilege of falsely accusing a fellow citizen. One does not have a right to tell a lie against another or to put it in print. A false accusation, if it is spoken, is *slander*, while an untrue written accusation is *libel*, and one may be punished for either. The right of free speech does not protect him.

One may not, by speaking or in writing, advocate the breaking of a law or acts of violence. If he does this, he may be punished. Ordinarily people may assemble and hold meetings freely, but a state or city has a right to make rules about how the meetings are conducted. They may not be conducted in such a way as to disturb the peace or obstruct traffic.

In speaking or writing or holding meetings one must conform to reasonable regulations which the state or city may make in its efforts to protect the health, safety, or morals of the people. And no one has a right to break a law or advise anyone else to do so. If he does this he cannot hide behind the rights of free speech.

Defending Freedom

Even though there are limitations to our liberties; even though we are not free to do as we please on all occasions, the fact remains that we are a free people, enjoying a rich heritage of liberty. These liberties are worth preserving; worth every sacrifice we may make for them. In order the more certainly to preserve them, however, we need to study the sources of danger.

It is conceivable, of course, that our liberties might be destroyed by foreign conquest. That is unlikely, however. We are preparing to protect ourselves against invasion or attack and it is quite unlikely that dictators, however much they may dislike the American way of life, can make us give it up. It is also unlikely that we will ever decide openly and definitely to surrender our freedom and to cease being a free nation. No party which advocates the destruction of American rights is likely to gain power.

If we lose any considerable amount of our freedom it is likely to be because large numbers of Americans do not understand the freedom which we enjoy and the reasons why we permit so much liberty. We may possibly surrender our rights a little at a time until much of our freedom has been lost. This is not likely to happen, but it might conceivably if Americans should become careless about their liberties.

There are some Americans who are not really loyal to the American system of democracy; who do not like the idea of the almost unrestricted freedom which Americans are given by the Constitution. They do not say that they are against the Constitution. They may praise it loudly and think of themselves as being very patriotic men. But when someone makes a speech or writes a book or an article which they very greatly dislike, these people frequently take the position that no man should be allowed to make such a speech, and they argue that the book or newspaper printing his ideas should be suppressed.

There is much of this kind of thing in periods of war, danger, or anxiety. At such times, meetings held by people whose ideas are unpopular are often broken up. Men with unpopular opinions find the halls locked against them when they go to make their speeches. And sometimes violence is done to those who insist upon saying unpopular things. This is a violation of American principles of freedom.

Of course, if the unpopular speaker or writer is violating a law or if he is advocating violence or if he is interfering with industry, engaging in sabotage, or doing anything of the sort, he can be punished by the law. But if he is speaking or writing peacefully and is not advocating violence, he has a right as an American to express his views, however hateful they may be to a majority of the community. When the makers of our Constitution wrote the guarantee of free speech, they had in mind the protection of those who said unpopular things. If a man says things which the

people and officers of the government approve, there is no need to protect him. Any government permits a person to say things which are generally liked. Hitler permits such a thing as that, and so does Mussolini. Democratic governments alone permit those who represent minority opinions to speak freely.

The Democratic Faith

You may say, "Is it not possible for one to advocate dangerous things if he is allowed to speak freely?" Yes, he may. And for that reason many of the governments of the world will not allow one to say anything which officers of the government consider dangerous. Germany, Italy, Russia,

the fathers of the American Republic in establishing America as a free nation. Such are the reasons why the Constitution has given the American people freedom, and these are the reasons why the Supreme Court of the United States has upheld the rights of Americans. If all Americans understood these principles and if all of them believed in these principles of democracy, freedom in America would be secure. That is why it is so important for students to learn not merely the fact that we have free speech and press in this country but the reasons why we have them.

The real danger to democracy and liberty in America lies in the fact that many people do not understand these principles

and mayors—from denying to individual citizens the right to speak freely and the right to enjoy all the ordinary privileges of Americans. But even after the government has done this, individual citizens and societies and organizations may and often do create situations under which people fear to express themselves freely and under which the everyday rights of Americans are ignored.

Making Liberty Safe

Frequently there is no way to get at a situation of this kind by law. We can have free, unfettered democracy, and a free and untrammelled expression of belief, a free interchange of views, and a free search for truth and a free and secure enjoyment of the American way of life only if nearly all the people are reasonable and tolerant and considerate and generous in their dealings with their fellow citizens. A spirit of that kind can be developed only by education and not by force.

"Now as never before," says Justice Frank Murphy of the United States Supreme Court, "we need to do our work, as Lincoln advised, 'with malice toward none, with charity for all.' We need to do it with tolerance for those with whom we disagree; with compassion for those who are less fortunate than we; with sympathy and understanding for those who speak a different tongue or whose background is in a different land. We need to do it with a constant understanding that the things we have in common are far bigger and more important than any difference that may seem to keep us apart."

"It is in such a spirit, and such a spirit alone, that peace is won, justice achieved, and the sons of men made free."

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PRECAUTIONS TAKEN

There are many signs in the national capital of increased precautions against spying and sabotage. All employees of the War and Navy Departments—including even generals and admirals—have been issued badges bearing their photographs, and it is a common thing to see men and women decorated with their own pictures in little frames.

At all guarded buildings visitors and newspapermen must show special passes when they enter and when they leave. Secret service men have fingerprinted and photographed all press correspondents and other people who have regular business at the White House and have issued a pass to each.

The Navy Department has decided to guard navy yards and other shore establishments with members of a specially trained civilian police force. This Navy Civil Police Corporation, as it is called, will be headed by Jerome Doyle, a former G-man, and will eventually number 2,500 or 3,000. Each man whom the Civil Service Commission selects for this force will be given an intensive course in the detection of spies and saboteurs.

As another precaution, Secretary of the Navy Knox has asked newspapers, press associations, and broadcasting companies to cooperate by using only such news of ship movements, naval weapons, and warship construction as is released for publication by the Navy Department's news bureau.



FREE SPEECH—BASIS OF CIVIL LIBERTY

Japan do not allow such things. Probably a majority of all the civilized people of the world would declare that an individual should not be allowed to advocate things which those in authority, that is, the officers of the government, consider dangerous.

But in the democracies the idea is that if everyone is allowed to speak freely, and there is a free interchange of opinion, truth is more likely to prevail than error. The framers of our Constitution and others who believe in democracy have faith in the good sense of the common run of people. That is the chief difference between democracies and other forms of government. In dictatorships it is thought that the people do not have enough judgment to come to sound opinions after all of them have had their say. Hence the power to decide what ideas are good and what ideas are dangerous is given to the dictators or the officers of the government. Those who believe in democracy, on the other hand, think it would be dangerous to give to the officers of the government the power to decide which ideas are sound and which ones are not. Hence they say: "Let everybody speak freely, even though we know in advance that some of them will speak foolishly. If some speak foolishly, the others can refute the foolish arguments and the majority of people in the long run will decide wisely."

Such are the arguments which influenced

of freedom. They believe in suppression rather than the free interchange of opinion. They want freedom for themselves but not for those with whom they do not agree. Such people become very powerful in times of war or danger. They may become so numerous and so powerful that there may be widespread violations of civil liberties. Each faction may then try to secure freedom of expression for its members while denying it to others. This is a violation of the American principle that all may speak and write and exercise their rights freely.

The Enemy Within

Democracy is built on *faith*; faith in the common sense of the common man; faith that if all are free and if discussion is free, sound policies are more likely to be adopted than if the government or groups of citizens undertake to decide what is good for the people to hear and what is not.

If there is not widespread acceptance by the people of the principles of freedom, there may be intolerance and discrimination against races, religions, and beliefs so that those who hold unpopular religious views or unpopular political and economic views find it impossible to enjoy the civil liberties which the Constitution undertakes to guarantee. The Constitution can keep the various branches of the government—Congress, state legislature, city councils,

U. S. Studies Program to Improve Relations With Latin America

(Concluded from page 1)

publics of Latin America are very much like the individuals who comprise them in this respect.

Fortunately, considerable is being done to clear up these misunderstandings and to bring the two peoples closer together. In Washington the major part of the work is being handled by a division of the National Defense Council which was established last August and is known as the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics. The object of this organization is to see that the work and aims and culture of the United States is better known south of the Rio Grande, while helping to make the Latin viewpoint better understood here.

Under the direction of Nelson Rockefeller, steady progress has been made. There are now eight radio systems broadcasting in Spanish and Portuguese to Latin America through 11 short-wave outlets during a good part of each day for the benefit of the 2,462,000 Latin American families owning short-wave receiving sets. Officials are now working on a scheme to have some of these programs picked up by Latin American stations and rebroadcast for standard sets. These programs carry a great deal of entertainment, Latin music, and periods designed to reflect the activities of the United States in a wide variety of fields, ranging from song hits to economics.

Other Efforts

Out in Hollywood the movie industry has begun to make pictures designed especially for Latin American audiences, one of them, "The Life of Simon Bolivar," being the story of a great South American liberator. "Yanqui" films are already well known south of the Rio Grande, of course, but not all have helped the cause of Latin American relations. "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington" convinced many that American politics are hopelessly corrupt, while "Down Argentine Way" outraged Argentines by suggesting that a race could be "thrown" at the staid Buenos Aires Jockey Club.

Similar efforts are being made in other fields. A committee of prominent American writers, headed by Archibald MacLeish, librarian of Congress, has been cooperating with publishers on a project to provide for translations of Latin American literature into English, and the best American novels and general books into Spanish. *Reader's Digest* is now distributed in a Spanish edition throughout Latin America, and its success has caused other

American publishers to consider a similar step. In the field of music the exchange is already general. Latin American dance rhythms have profoundly influenced and been influenced by those of the United States. The amount of serious Latin American music available on records has greatly increased during the last half year. This month, for example, Columbia has released an entire album devoted to South American chamber music.

The Economic Problem

But all these efforts do not solve the major problem, which is economic. The Latin Americans, hard hit by the depression for nearly a decade, and now harder hit by the loss of markets in Europe, do not want or need radio programs, books, movies, or lectures on democracy half so much as they need markets for their products. The trouble has always been that many of the major products of Latin America have been goods which we not only do not need, but are trying to sell ourselves. We cannot buy Argentine wheat or corn, for example. We cannot very well buy cotton from Ecuador or Peru when we cannot sell our own. We can buy about 1,772,000 pounds of coffee from Brazil, Colombia, and a few other states every year, but we cannot easily increase these purchases. Imports of sugar are limited by our own quotas (protecting the Philippines and Puerto Rico), by agreements with Cuba, and by the protests of our sugar-beet growers.

Latin Americans as a whole are poor. The great mass of them have barely enough to provide minimum requirements of food and shelter for their families. Most cannot afford little luxuries, to say nothing of automobiles, sewing machines, typewriters, agricultural machinery, and other manufactured goods in the export of which the United States exceeds all other nations.

Now it is true that in spite of this general poverty among the masses, Latin America has provided us with a substantial trade. In 1937, the last normal year, for example, we sold \$650,000,000 worth of goods to Latin American nations, buying \$714,192,000 worth in return. Those are sizable figures. But during the same period we sold twice as much to Europe, five-sixths as much to England, and nearly as much to Canada alone. The distant markets of Asia, Australia, and New Zealand took more of our goods than all 20 of our American neighbors south of the Rio Grande. Since the war in Europe shut off the Latin Americans from their favorite markets, they have more than doubled their 1938 purchases in the United States. But how long this can last in the face of the general decline in Latin American purchasing power, is a doubtful question, because our purchases in Latin American markets have failed to increase accordingly.

Three Possible Methods

In seeking to find some solution to the plight of the 20 Latin American republics, three different methods have been suggested in Washington. The first is the familiar method of lending money to the governments to enable them to make purchases. Most of the loans made so far have been floated through the Export-Import Bank on a credit basis. Various governments are given a certain amount of credit in this country and may purchase whatever goods they need until the credit is used up. Last year a total of \$206,000,000 was made available to Latin America in this way by the Export-Import Bank. The most recent credits include



LOADING COFFEE IN BRAZIL

Although coffee is, and will continue to be, Brazil's greatest crop, an effort is being made to stimulate the growth of other products for export.

one of \$10,000,000 to Peru, one of \$60,000,000 to Argentina, one of \$7,500,000 to Uruguay, and an additional loan of \$50,000,000 made for the purpose of supporting Argentina's currency. To maintain Latin American trade at its present level, anywhere from \$300,000,000 to \$500,000,000 might be required each year. This policy, therefore, is at best a stopgap measure to help the Latin Americans tide over a difficult period. It does not solve any basic problems. It tends rather to create them, for loans have to be paid back and heavy borrowers are seldom good friends.

Second and Third Plans

A second plan was what was known as the Cartel Plan, looking to the creation of a great central sales and purchasing agency for the Americas. This agency, as suggested tentatively by President Roosevelt early last summer, would presumably buy up all stocks of cotton, coffee, sugar, wheat, cattle, hides, ores, wood, and other products of the hemisphere, pool them, and sell them abroad. By forcing all outside powers to deal with this central combine, the American republics might be able to prevent concentrated pressure against any single country.

This plan has since been laid aside. It would call for enormous expenditures, ranging from \$2,000,000,000 to perhaps as much as \$10,000,000,000 to finance the purchases, and it aroused suspicions in Latin America that it was just another plot to enable the United States to obtain a strangle hold on the entire hemisphere. Officials are now reluctant to touch it unless world conditions become so grave as to necessitate such a radical step.

The third method under consideration has been received favorably on all sides. It is that the United States cooperate with Latin American republics in developing the production of materials which do not compete with American goods, and which we need and are willing to buy. Many of these we now obtain from sources in the Dutch East Indies, China, Malaya, and India which might not be available to us in the event of trouble in the Far East.

Rubber, for example, we have been getting chiefly from British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. It could be grown in sufficient quantity in Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, and other tropical countries nearby. Latin America used to be a great rubber-producing region until a disease attacked the rubber trees and threw the rubber industry into chaos. Experts now know how to combat this disease, just as they have combated the disease which once threatened all American banana plantations. Specialists from the Department of Agriculture are already at work on preliminary surveys for the governments of Brazil and Colombia.

Another product which we need and which could be developed nearby is man-

ganese, most of which we now get from Russia, but which can be further developed in Brazil and Cuba. We now get more than 90 per cent of our tin from British Malaya, but Bolivia could meet all our needs if we could develop tin smelters here to replace those which have been smelting our tin in Britain. Half of our tungsten, essential in steel production, has been coming from China, but there is plenty in Bolivia and in various other parts of Latin America. It is believed that cinchona bark, from which quinine is extracted, can be grown as easily in South America (where it was first discovered) as in the Dutch East Indies and Malaya. Manila hemp, the only fiber which does not swell on contact with sea water, is already being produced in Colombia experimentally, and it is hoped that in the future the United States will not have to depend so completely upon the Philippines for its source of supply. And so it goes through a long list, including antimony, found in Mexico, Bolivia, Peru, Honduras, and Guatemala; chromium and nickel, which are found in Brazil as well as in Canada; vanadium, from Peru and Argentina; bauxite from Brazil and the Guianas; platinum from Brazil and Colombia; sheet mica (needed for filaments, radio tubes, and similar products) from Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, and Guatemala. Even silk and cork, cocaine and shellac are already being produced in small quantities in certain parts of the Americas.

While preparing to develop and expand Latin American sources of these vital materials, the United States is encouraging Latin American states to build industries of their own, and by diversifying their products, strengthen their economic systems at home. An example of this may be found in a recent loan of \$20,000,000 to Brazil, made for the purpose of enabling the Brazilians to establish a steel plant of their own. In the long run, it is expected and hoped that the United States and Latin America will become increasingly dependent upon one another, and less dependent on the other continents for a steady interchange of goods and ideas.

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HAPAG-LLOYD PHOTO

PLAZA SAN MARTIN—RIO DE JANEIRO

IN the course of the debate on the lend-lease bill Congressman James W. Wadsworth of New York addressed the House and supported the bill with certain amendments. Gould Lincoln, writing in the *Washington Star*, expresses the opinion that this may prove to have been a history-making speech. He says:

Now and then a speech is made in Congress that changes history. Now and then a speech is made which changes votes on a major measure under consideration. Such a speech may well have been made in the House on Tuesday by Representative Wadsworth of New York, in which he pleaded for national unity back of the bill to aid the democracies now warring against the totalitarian governments. . . .



JAMES WADSWORTH

The New York representative holds to an unusual degree the respect of his colleagues. He is a Republican. But he has never let partisanship interfere with his views and his action on measures which he regards as vital to the people and the country. He speaks seldom in the House, but when he speaks it is after full consideration and study of the issue at hand. He has a clarity of expression and of reason in his addresses that is not equaled often. He never subordinates principle to partisanship. He has an eloquence that comes largely from sincerity but not entirely, for he has a gift of expression that is rare.

Other men in public life of this country have a similar devotion to principle and to public duty, a similar intellectual honesty. Three other public men come to mind—men who have not believed with Mr. Wadsworth either politically or on nonpartisan issues. The first is the late Senator Oscar Underwood of Alabama, who served as Democratic leader of the House and later as Democratic leader of the Senate. Another is former Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, as dyed-in-the-wool a Democrat as is Mr. Wadsworth a Republican. The third is the late Senator William E. Borah of Idaho. All of them had or have great gifts of expression. All of them were or are forthright in their views and their devotion to principle.

Unwanted Season

A vivid picture of the fear that grips the common man of Europe with the near



approach of the spring season is drawn in the *New York Times* by one of its editors, Anne O'Hare McCormick. With notable skill, Mrs. McCormick portrays the mood of inevitably recurrent tragedy that has settled over Europe:

At the best of times winter is a dismal season for most people in northern and central Europe. City-folk shiver in ill-heated houses; peasants hibernate, isolated by impassable roads; the great rivers that serve as international highways are frozen over. The coming of spring is like the end of a penal sentence for millions from the mouth of the Rhine to the mouth of the Danube. But last year these millions dreaded the spring. The winter was the worst in living memory. Everywhere communications were disrupted, food and fuel gave out, and human misery was acute. Despite their privations, however, they did not want the ice to break, the roads to be opened, or the sun to shine. . . .

The present winter is crueler than the last. The suffering throughout Europe is infinitely worse. . . . Again Europe is dreading the spring. . . . Hitler had made all of Europe dread the spring. When you have watched people in every country scan the trees for the first fuzz of green, search the skies for signs that winter is relenting; when you have sensed the feeling of liberation that comes to those whose lives are eventless except for the revolutions of nature, this gives the truest measure of what he has done to Europe. He has made peasants who live for the spring wish winter would last forever.

Youth Peace Contest

The League of Nations Association will conduct its fifteenth national high school contest on April 4. The examinations will

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be held under local supervision in high schools which register in advance. The questions will relate to the whole problem of organizing the world for peace, and will be based on two booklets, "Essential Facts Underlying World Organization," and "A Study of the Organization of Peace," and the covenant of the League of Nations.

The first prize will be either a trip to South America or a scholarship award of equal value at whatever college or university the winner wishes to attend. Other prizes will also be given.

Information concerning the contest, requirements for entrance and the materials needed in preparation, may be obtained from The League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York City.

"Lisping Cicero"

In his recent radio address Winston Churchill again gave proof of his remarkable mastery of the English language. In *Current History and Forum* Louis J. Alber and Charles J. Rollo, writing on "Churchill, Lisping Cicero," give this picture of how the British statesman prepares his speeches:

Gripping his inevitable cigar, he whispers to himself as he writes or dictates, and no sentence is put down on paper until he has tested it aloud to himself several times, this way and that. He seems to weigh his words and balance his thoughts on the delicate scale of his consciousness. He talks to himself, and as he talks he fondles his words, finding zest in some, dissatisfaction in others. The latter he discards, and tries again and again until those with the right sound and flavor and the proper balance have been found. During the process his face—that very round, very red, very cupid face—shows that he savors every moment of the game.

How well he accomplishes his purposes may be seen in two following passages from his first speech as prime minister, which the authors describe as "one of the finest utterances that an English statesman has ever made."

You ask, what is our policy? I say it is to wage war by land, sea, and air—war with all our might and with all the strength God has given us—and to wage war against a monstrous tyranny never surpassed in the dark and lamentable catalogues of human crime. That is our policy.

You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word. It is Victory. Victory at all costs. Victory in spite of all terrors. Victory, however long and hard the road may be, for without victory there is no survival.

"The Free French"

Under the title "Soldats de France, Debout!" Janet Flanner has written of the men who have joined the Free French movement in the February 1 issue of *The New Yorker*.

Many of them, she says, came over from the Brittany coast of France in schooners and little dories. The Breton fishermen were arriving at the rate of two thousand a month last summer, and are still coming. Knowing the tides, currents, and inlets of the "invasion coast," they are invaluable to the British, and many of them have gone back as spies. But "the largest class of Free Frenchmen are garagemen, mechanics, electricians, petty engineers,



armament factory hands, dock machinists—wheel tinkers by trade, talent, and taste, and all radio fans (rare in France), whose ears de Gaulle knew he could catch on the air. . . . Aside from his officers and fliers, he has attracted few French bourgeois,

aristocrats, or gentlemen adventurers. As for de Gaulle himself—the author says:

He stands six feet six inches in his stocking feet. He is not only the tallest general in what was the French army but one of the tallest men ever to appear in French history. Few people in France ever heard of de Gaulle until lately; just a choice handful in London have ever had a glimpse of him. Those who have seen him say he is the perfect symbol of a French officer. He seems summed up in his long legs and his polite, stiff officer's stance. . . . There is apparently a flat absence of hero worship among de Gaulle's followers. What they are willing to die for is the principle of the thing; he's simply the tall man in charge.

Price of Consistency

Raymond Clapper, well-known columnist, whose comments appear daily in 85 newspapers, wrote not long ago that a reader had accused him of changing his viewpoint on certain foreign policies of the United States.



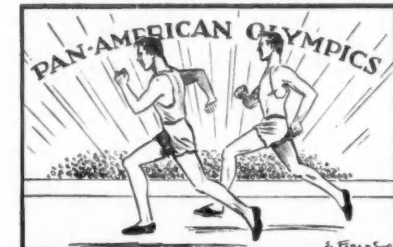
RAYMOND CLAPPER

"The gentleman is correct," admitted Mr. Clapper. "I have switched, almost completely around." And he went ahead to quote from columns he had written during the last several years to show how changing world events had caused him, month by month, to revise his own personal opinions to a great extent.

"Yes, I have switched," he concluded. "I try to learn from events. Events are not consistent; therefore, why should I be consistent? Some people, once they adopt an idea, bury it in the ground and go on the rest of their lives defending it, without ever re-examining it to see whether time and the elements have caused it to decay into a worthless handful of dust. In that way you can be always consistent—and often wrong."

Hemisphere Olympics

The greatly intensified campaign to weld the nations of the Western Hemisphere into a vast unit professing common social and political beliefs is being waged on many



fronts. One of the phases of this campaign is now taking concrete shape as preparations are being rushed for the 1942 Pan American Games to be held in Buenos Aires, the Argentine capital.

These hemisphere olympics are an outgrowth of the European war, which compelled the cancellation of the last Olympic Games, which were to have been held in Finland. But even when some measure of stability has been restored in Europe, the plan is to continue the hemisphere olympics.

Writing about this project in *The Pan American*, a new magazine devoted to Pan American affairs, Avery Brundage, president of the American Olympic Association, declares:

There is a great and growing interest in amateur sport throughout the South American continent. In Sao Paulo, Brazil, there has just been completed a fine modern stadium seating 80,000, with two indoor arenas connected with it for boxing, gymnastics, tennis, and with a modern swimming pool. Here I found the only high diving platform in the world serviced by an electric elevator. . . . Although Rio de Janeiro has five or six large football stadia, they are discussing the building of another large stadium. . . . In Santiago, Chile, they have a most comprehensive plant which resembles the Reich Sportfield in Berlin.

Farthest South

Magallanes, sometimes known as Punta Arenas, is the southernmost city of Chile, South America, and the world. Not many people have occasion to go there. The 1,427-mile trip from Valparaiso south is both long and somewhat dangerous, leading through the deep but shifting currents of the Straits of Magellan, past saw-tooth crags of granite, enormous glaciers, and frowning mountains. Henry A. Phillips



describes Magallanes in the current issue of *Travel*.

There are about 30,000 people in the town, says the author, a large number of whom are English, Scotch, or Yugoslavs. Many years ago British mariners detected around Magallanes the "smarting salty tang of the moors and misty highlands of Britain where a certain sheep bearing a coveted type of staple wool are raised." The Tierra del Fuego (land of fire), as the region is called, was ideal for raising sheep. With an average temperature of 40 degrees, "plenty of moisture, stiff winds, and a good share of snow in the winter," it proved well adapted to raising a type of sheep known as Romney Marsh merino, which produces one of the finest grades of wool in the world. There are now 4,500,000 sheep in the region, producing not only wool but frozen and canned meat, fat, and sheepskins.

But in spite of all the sheep, Magallanes is a lonely city. Visitors are welcome but seldom come, and the whole town suffers from a lack of materials. The author observes:

Goods were lacking in the shops. You might buy colored cloth but there was no trimming to match. You were told that it might come in next month, next year, or never. All life in this port down there at the "bottom" seemed to be waiting for a ship to come which was to bring news, fortune, relatives, or even a spool of thread. More often than not the ship never arrives.

In Brief

Canada is rapidly pushing to completion the last link of her first through highway from east to west. At a cost of \$6,000,000, the final gap is being closed in a region of Ontario which is largely unsettled territory. As soon as this stretch is finished, motorists will be able to drive for the first time from the east coast to the west coast on an all-Canadian road system.

New York City has opened a new \$5,000,000 union air terminal as downtown headquarters for all important air lines. Equipped with ticket offices, luxurious waiting rooms, a restaurant, and a theater, it serves the same purpose as a union railroad station. Passengers are whisked in limousines to and from an airport on the city's outskirts.

Until recently, the popular birthday-telegram greetings, sung over the phone or in person by crooning messengers, have been to the tune of "Happy Birthday to You." From now on the person receiving the message will hear it sung to "Yankee Doodle" or "Mary Had a Little Lamb." The telegraph companies decided that "Happy Birthday" had "outlived its usefulness" as the musical accompaniment to birthday "sing-o-grams."

Airplane factories buy rags by the bale for wiping grease and dirt from machines. The Navy, however, is the nation's largest user of rags, followed by the Army, the air service, rail and bus companies, filling stations, garages, and machine shops. The market for wiping rags is so great, in fact, that in some cities there are companies which rent rags and launder them for repeated use.